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OLD SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES.

OLD SPANISH *afe*, *fe*, etc. None of the explanations proposed for these forms have been accepted generally. Diez¹ regarded *fe* as an aspirated *ve* from *VIDE*: "Dies sp. *fe* ist nichts als ein aspirirtes *ve*, lat. *vide*, und das vorangehende *a* ein blosser Ausruf." Ascoli² has taken exception to this theory and, deeming *afe* to be the earlier form, has seen in the expression only the development of a prepositional phrase meaning "on my faith." He quotes as instances of a similar development both the Latin *hercle* and the Italian *gnaffe*, the latter of which is more obviously to the point.

The Spanish words in question have evident sense relations with the modern *hé* of *hé aquí*, etc., and this *hé* represents a normal phonetic development of *fe*. The Spanish grammars, with the exception of the scientific Bello-Cuervo and kindred works, have conventionally regarded *hé* as the imperative singular of *haber*, thus adopting a point of view with which the theories of both Diez and Ascoli stand in opposition; and Meyer-Lübke³ seems still to see in *hé* a descendant of a Latin singular imperative *HABE*, which has been modified through the analogy of *ve* from Latin *VADE* (more exactly from an older **vai*, says Meyer-Lübke).⁴ Moreover, Meyer-Lübke doubts the authenticity of any Spanish singular imperative *habe*: "Der Imperativ span. *habe* [cited by Diez and others], portg. *ha* ist wohl von dem Grammatikern erfunden; auffällig ist span. *he*, das auf *hae* statt *habe* zurückgehen könnte, wahrscheinlicher aber nach *vas*: *ve* zu *has* gebildet ist." The existence of the Spanish singular *habe* is avouched by Cuervo,⁵ who, however, mentions no examples earlier than the sixteenth century:

El imperativo de *haber* es perfectámente regular: *habe*, *habed*: "*Habe* misericordia de mí, pues dende tu niñez por todas las edades creció contigo la misericordia" (Granada, *Oración I de la vida de Nuestra*

¹ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, third ed., Vol. II, p. 466.

² *Archivio glottologico italiano*, Vol. X (1868-88), p. 7, note.

³ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Vol. II, § 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 232.

⁵ Cf. his edition of BELLO'S *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1898, *Notas*, p. 87.

Señora); "*Habed* piedad, Criador, destas vuestras criaturas" (Santa Teresa, *Exclamaciones del alma á Dios VIII*). La primera de estas formas, comunísima cuando *haber* era sinónimo de *tener*, es hoy inusitada; la otra apenas tiene cabida tal cual vez en el lenguaje místico; pero ambas cuadran perfectamente con las anticuadas *habes*, *habe*, *haben* en vez de *has*, *ha*, *han*, que con *habemos*, *habéis*, completaban, salvo la primera persona del singular, el presente regular de *haber*.

Now, waiving the question of the historical legitimacy of a Spanish *habe*—and there are evidences of its early use¹—we shall here strive to indicate the possibility of deriving the series *afe*, *fe*, *hé*, from the plural *habed*, basing our argument chiefly upon the forms found in the Menéndez-Pidal edition of the *Poema del Cid*. In this document the second plural imperative occurs in vs. 3600 (*Aued uuestro derecho*) and in vs. 496 (*auello quitado*). The *auello* of the second example represents *aued* plus *lo* with a not unnatural assimilation of the *d* to the *l*,² and with reference to the same general subject and in the same speech there stands *afelo*, vs. 505: *Todo lo otro afelo en uuestra mano*.

It is a noteworthy fact, to which Bello long ago called attention,³ that *afe* and *fe* regularly occur in a second plural construction in the *Poema del Cid*. Bello's words are these:

Este *afé* parece corrupción de HABETE; de lo que no hai duda es que se usó siempre como segunda persona plural, i nunca se dirijió á persona que se tratase de *tú*, pues en este caso se decía *evas* (*habeas*). *Afé*, pues, si no estoi engañado, nunca equivale en los escritos del siglo XIII á *ves aquí*; lo mismo digo de *fé*, que es una contracción de *afé*. De *fé* nacio *hé*, que perdió su significacion plural, i así se dice *hête aquí* (*ecce tibi*) i *héos aquí* (*ecce vobis*).

It is not only true that *afe* thus regularly occurs in the *Cid* in a second plural construction, but it is very possible that in the inception it occurred only with a following *uos* (a vocative or an

¹ Cf. PIETSCH, *Preliminary Notes on Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, Chicago, 1903, p. 7, note 16.

² For the assimilation of *dl* to *ll*, cf. *Poema del Cid*, 2136: *Prendellas con uuestras manos e daldas a los yfantes*, where, since *prendellas* represents rather *prendedlas* than *prenderlas*, we seem to have examples both of the assimilation of *d* to *l* and of the other well known Spanish phenomenon of metathesis of *d* and *l*. Cf. also *rollo* which, like *rolde*, seems to come from *rofulum*, and in the *Crónica rimada*, 375: *Al rey que vos servides, servillo muy sin arte*. In this last example, as well as in *Cid* 496 and 2136, it would seem like begging the question to regard an infinitive as at the basis of the forms with *ll*, when the general construction is that of the second plural of address.

³ Cf. his edition of the *Poema del Cid* in Vol. II of his *Obras completas*, Santiago de Chile, 1881, *Glosario*, p. 350.

ethical dative), as it still does in vss. 152, 262, 476, 1255, 1431, 1499, 1568, 2230, 2368. In most of these cases the *afeuos* stands in a perfect half line of the *romance* type. The *uos* is gone and *afe* stands alone in vss. 505, 1317, 1597, 2088, 2101, 2135, 2175, 2222 (*affe*), 2381, 2947, 3393 (*affe*), but of these the imperfect half lines of 2175 *Afe(uos) los en Valencia*, of 2222 *Affe(uos) amas mis fijas*, and of 3393 *Affe(uos) dos caualleros* are made *romance* verses by the mere insertion of the *uos*.¹ If, now, with Ascoli and Bello we believe that *afe* was an earlier form than *fe*, and if we assume, as the facts adduced may indicate, that *afe* was in the inception accompanied by *uos*, which was first dropped, perhaps, in the more rapid interjectional use, then we may be safe in deriving the form from *habete* plus *vos*. From this would come (*h*)*abedvos*, of which the *h* was phonetically valueless, the *b* not distinguishable in value from the *v*, and the combination *dv* one that could not long persist. We see a partial assimilation of the *d* in the *auello* of vs. 496; it is completely assimilated, that is absorbed, in the *Crónica rimada*,² vs. 345: “Rey, dueña so lasrada, è *avéme* piedat.” Before the retained *v* of Old Spanish *vos*, we may suppose a disappearance of the *d* similar to that in *avéme*. Then, by a process of dissimilation in the resulting *avevos* we should obtain the form *afevos*, and with a dropping of the *vos*, which still retained its identity, we should have the independent *afe*.

From *afe(vos)* we may obtain the shorter *fe* through a contamination with the prepositional and interjectional phrase *á fe*. The first syllable of the verb, being confused with the preposition, might be disjoined and hence the still more interjectional—because briefer—*fe*. This latter is found in the *Poema del Cid* in vss. 1335 and 3591 in combination with *vos* (vs. 1335 is imperfect and is made a good *romance* verse by changing *feuos* to *afeuos*, i. e., (*A*)*feuos* aqui las señas); without the *vos* and as *fem*, equal to *fe* plus conjoined object pronoun *me*, in vs. 269; without the *vos* and with a conjoined object *los* in vss. 485 (*fellos*), 1452

¹CORNU, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI (1897), p. 461, adopts these very emendations for vss. 2175 and 3393, but prefers another for vs. 2222.

²Cf. the edition of F. MICHEL, and the extract published by DAMAS-HINARD in his edition of the *Poème du Cid*, Paris, 1858.

(*felos*), 2647 (*felos*), 3534 (*felos*), and 3701 (*felos*). All the last mentioned cases stand in imperfect verses, which are made good *romance* verses by the change of *fe* to *afe* in 485: (A)fello en Castejon, and by the addition of *uos* as well in 1452: (A)fe(uos) los en Medina, in 2647: (A)fe(vos) los en Molina, and in 3701: (A)fe(uos) los en Valencia.¹ Vs. 3534 is very corrupt, yet one might propose an emendation to (A)fe(uos) los (ya) al plazo. Such corrections, however, would not eliminate all the cases of *fe* which therefore seems a legitimate form in the *Poema del Cid*.

The exclamative prepositional phrase *á fe*, under the influence of which we suppose the verbal exclamative *fe* to have arisen, is perhaps to be seen in the *Cid* in vs. 2140: Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz," and, reinforced by the addition of *Dios* (cf. the more modern *Ay Dios*), in 1942: Afe Dios del çiello que nos acuerde en lo mior; in 2155: Afe Dios del çielo, que lo ponga en buen logar; and in 2855: Affe Dios de los çielos que uos de dent buen galardon.

The correlation with *aquí*, which is so common in the modern speech (*hé aquí*), is relatively infrequent in the *Poema del Cid*. It is found, nevertheless, in vss. 1597: Afe me aqui, señor, and 2135: Afe aqui Albarfanez, which are excellent *romance* verses; in 1499: A feuos aqui Pero Vermuez, where, however, the line may have to be remedied by the omission of the *aquí*; and in 1335: Feuos aqui las señas (cf. the correction proposed above). It would seem that the adverb could appear only in conjunction with a verb, and this may be an argument against Ascoli's derivation of the phrase from simply *á* plus the noun *fé*. The verbal origin seems certain, and Spanish, which, contrary to the custom in Italian and French, has preserved the true imperative of the substantive verb, has also preserved the imperative of *habere* (as Portuguese has likewise done; cf. the citation from Meyer-Lübke given above). Whether or not the second singular *habe* belongs to very early Spanish, the second plural of the imperative of *habere* has persisted in Spanish, and, moreover, it has remained

¹ CORNU, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI (1897), p. 461, has adopted the changes proposed in vss. 1335, 485, 1452, 2647, 3701.

in forms due to a double development: *afe-fe-hé*, on the one side, and *habed* on the other. The existence of many doublets in Spanish is a fact well known.¹

Diez's derivation from the imperative of *videre* must still receive some consideration, as must all propositions from the founder of Romance philology. Besides, there is the analogy of the French *voici* and *voilà*. It is true that the present indicative of *ver* appears with some demonstrative force in the *Poema del Cid*; cf. vs. 137: *Ya vedes que*; vss. 114 and 280: *Ya lo vedes que*, etc.; and in the *Crónica rimada* we find vss. 368 and 511: *Vedes aqui sus cartas*, and vs. 750: *Vedes aqui su privilegio*. If the series ending in *hé* goes back to the imperative of *ver*, we shall have to start with the form *fe*, as Diez doubtless did, and again we must suppose an original combination of the second plural with *vos*, whence *vevos* by complete assimilation of the *d* and *fevos* by a dissimilation of the first *v*. The form *afe* might again be due to a contamination with *á fé*. It is interesting to note that the *Crónica general* of 1344² has *afevos* and *afelo* in certain MSS, and in the same passages of other MSS occur the variants *vedes aqui*, *catad aqui*, *catadvos*, *catadlo*, *vedlo*, etc.

In a passage already quoted, Bello mentions the word *evas* used with a similar demonstrative force to that of *afe*. But his etymology from *HABEAS* seems hardly borne out by facts, since the *y* of the combination *by* does not appear to have reacted upon the preceding syllable as that of *py* did (cf. *sapiat-sepa* by the side of *HABEAT-haya* and *FOVEAM-hoya*). The forms of this troublesome verb occurring in the *Poema del Cid* are vss. 2172: *Euay Asur Gonçalez*; 820: *Euades aqui oro*; 2326: *Euades que pauor han uuestros yernos tan osados*; 2519: *Euades aqui, yernos, la mi mugier de pro*; and 2123: *Euad aqui uuestros fijos*. To these Bello adds a singular *evas*, which he finds in a translation of the Bible, where it renders the *ECCE* of its Latin original and where the address is in the second singular.³ All these forms seem to adapt themselves to a verb of the first con-

¹ Cf. C. M. DE VASCONCELLOS, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*, pp. 208 ff.

² Cf. the extracts published by R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, 301, 12; 306, 10; 312, 1.

³ Cf. BELLO, ed. of the *Poema del Cid*, p. 376.

jugation, and they are not explained by Körtling's *EVADERE*,¹ or by Diez's *VIDEAS, VIDEATIS*.² Damas-Hinard³ has called attention to the fact that in every case in the *Poema del Cid* the word begins the line—which it might naturally do, by reason of its demonstrative and interjectional force—and proposed to read the first letter as the conjunction *e* “and.” Would it be too fantastic to start with the form in vs. 2172, *euay*, and to decompose it as *e ua y* “and there goes”?⁴ The *y* might have been added only in this original case, and the conjunction plus *va* might have been used as the basis of a new verb *evar*, whence would come the other forms. As Diez notes, *loc. cit.*, the Portuguese verb *evar* is given by Santa Rosa; its history must have to do with that of the Spanish verb and on it would depend the value of the etymology proposed here.

O. Sp. *ambidos, amidos*. From *ad-invitus* (with nominative or rather adverbial *s*) and not merely from *invitus*, since there seem to be no traces of a form *embidos* or *emidos* parallel to the French *envis*, etc. It is possible, however, that the initial syllable was simply affected at a very early stage by a correlation of the word with a prepositional phrase containing *a*; cf. the *Libro de Alexandre*,⁵ stanza 1551: *a forçia o ambidos* and the *Danza de la muerte*:⁶ *a fuerça e amidos*. In Berceo, *Santo Domingo*, stanza 104: *a amidos* and *San Laurençio*, stanza 16: *adamidos*, there is either a reduplication of the preposition or an addition of it to the modified *amidos*. Diez has noted⁷ the correlation *amidos e con miedo* (cf. Hita, *El libro de buen amor*; 329: *amidos e con miedo*); it is not impossible that a phrase *a miedo e amidos* has had some influence on the development of the *a* in *amidos*.

O. Sp. *troçir*, “to cross,” “to cross over (by, through),” “to pass by” (of time). This verb occurs in the *Poema del Cid* in vss. 307, 2653, 2687 (*troçir*); 543 (*troçen*); 1475, 2656, 2875

¹ Cf. *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, No. 2860.

² Cf. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, fifth ed., p. 450.

³ Cf. his ed. of the *Poème du Cid*, p. 22.

⁴ CORNU (*Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 461 ff.) amends to *Iva y*, thus expunging here what seems to be a well substantiated verb.

⁵ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LVII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁷ *Wörterbuch*, p. 422.

(*troçieron*); and 3545 (*troçida*). Cf. Berceo, *Milagros*, stanza 381 (*troçió*). Diez and Körting refer the word to *traducere*, which in the figurative sense "to translate" has regularly given *traduzir* (cf. the translation of the *Iliad* of which Vollmöller has published extracts in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte, Michael Bernays gewidmet*, Hamburg, 1893, p. 238, l. 8). The source may rather be *torquere*, Vulgar Latin **torcere*. Cf. the *Poema de Fernán González*,¹ stanza 43: *ovo por las paryas a Maruecos torçido*, and 140: *Los poderes de França. . . . Por los de Aspanna fueron luego torçidos*. The metathesis of *r* is a fairly common phenomenon in Spanish (cf. *crepantare-quebrantar*, etc.). For the sense development, cf. the English *wend*, *went*. In the change of conjugation we may apprehend some influence of *ire*, *transire*.

J. D. M. FORD.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

¹ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LVII.